

# THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

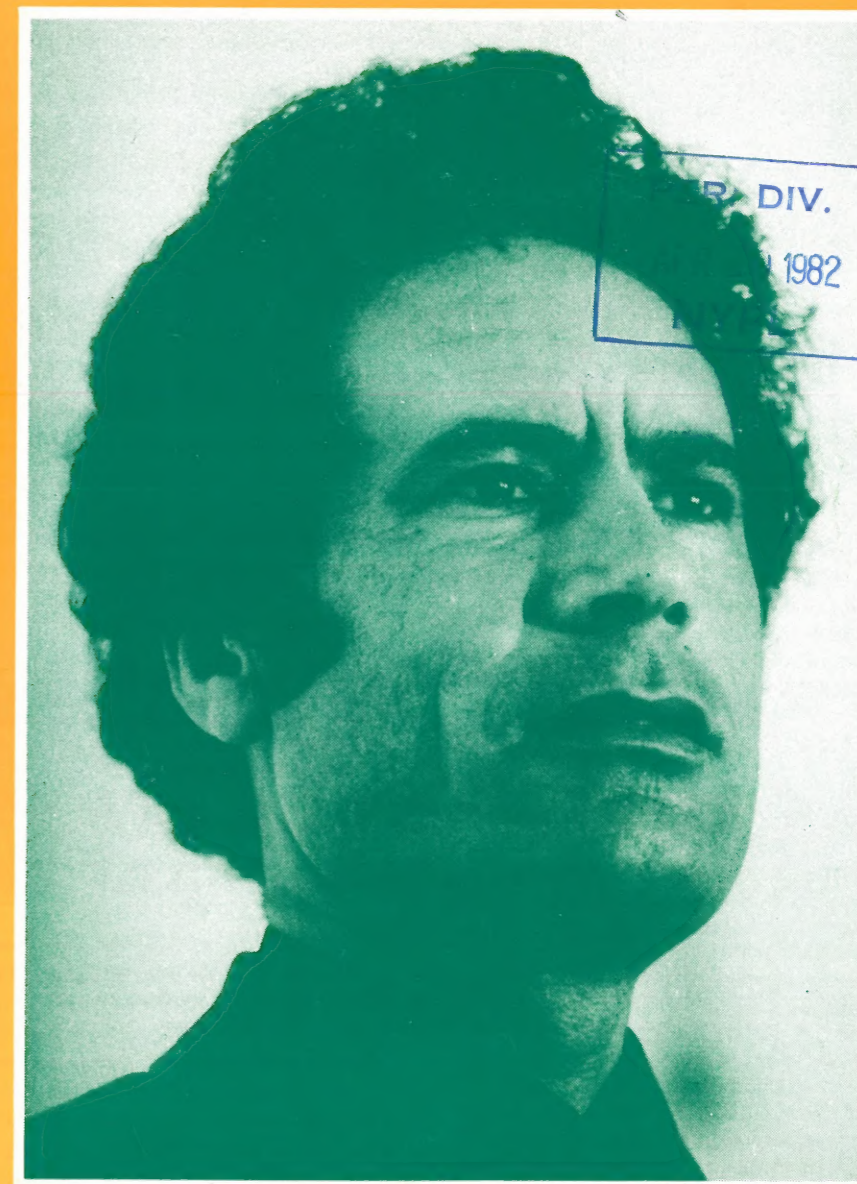
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# jamahiriya review

March 1982

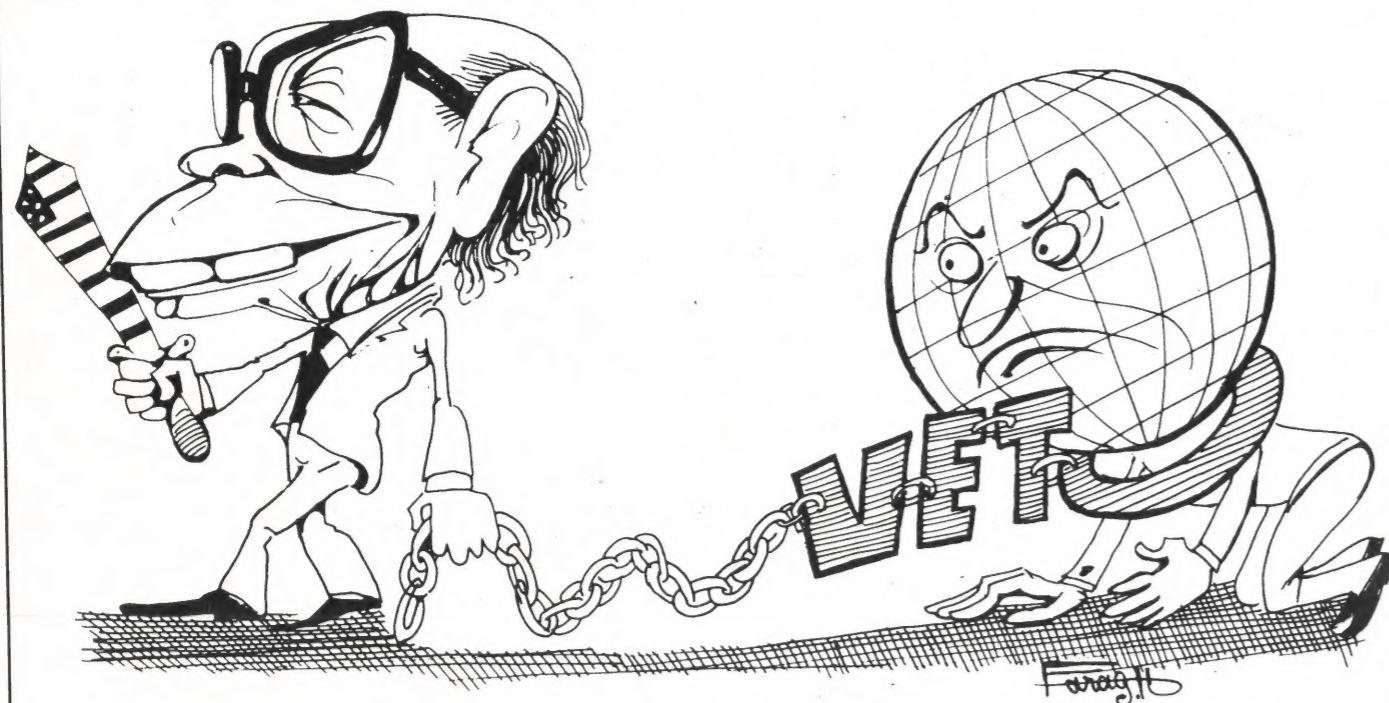
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## Qadhafi's blueprint for Arab unity

British mission to Libya — See page 13

Africa:  
The US threat  
under  
the Israeli flag



# The Green March الزحف الاخضر AL-ZAHF AL-AKHHDAR THE WEEKLY IDEOLOGICAL JOURNAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES THE WAY TO THE ERA OF THE MASSES

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# jamahiriya review

No 22 March 1982

□ **COVER STORY:** Muammer Qadhafi's blueprint for Arab Unity. During his recent visit to Algeria, the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi spoke in detail about the urgent need for Arab co-operation and unity, without which, he said, the Arab nation would not be capable of confronting the threats posed by Israel and the United States. Louis Eaks examines the Libyan leader's proposals on which a process towards unity could begin, in which Qadhafi stresses the need for a process of union between people's and popular organisations rather than political leaders. See pages 9 and 10, and this month's editorial comment on page 4.

□ **EUROPE AND THE JAMAHIRIYA:** The concluding report on Washington's efforts to undermine political and trade relations between European states and the Libyan Jamahiriya reports on US pressures on France, West Germany, Sweden and Ireland. See pages 11 and 12.

□ **BRITAIN AND LIBYA:** A British trade delegation visited the Jamahiriya recently to explore ways of boosting trade between the two countries. It was a clear snub to General Haig's continuing efforts to force the EEC countries to support Washington's attempts to destabilise the Libyan economy. Dr Alan George talks to the delegation's leader, and examines the prospects for greater co-operation between Britain and Libya. See page 13.

□ **AFRICAN REPORT:** In the second of our series to mark the forthcoming summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Tripoli, Phil Kelly examines the threat now posed to African independence and progressive forces within the continent by the new Strategic Co-operation Agreement signed between Israel and the United States. The Agreement aims to boost Israel's role in Africa as a proxy for the United States. See pages 14 and 15.

□ **DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT:** The Libyan model of people's democracy could provide the only basis on which Third World states can achieve progress towards economic and social development. In his recent book Dr Yusuf Sayigh argues that development plans continue to fail to meet their objectives because they are imposed on the people, who in turn have no opportunity to participate in creating the development schemes which effect their lives. A review of Dr Sayigh's book by Dr Alan George appears on page 16.

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## Unity: Now more vital than ever

ARAB UNITY, the cause above all others that motivates the Libyan Jamahiriya, is more vital than ever at this juncture in the history of the Arab nation. That was the message which Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi conveyed to the people of Algeria and Tunisia on his recent visits to their countries.

The Libyan leader rightly pointed out that the time is long past for slogans and empty gestures about uniting the Arabs. Now that Egypt had fallen to the enemy, the Zionists were able to conduct reconnaissance operations on the borders of Libya; if Libya fell, then Algeria would be next. If Syria fell, then the fighting would expand to Iraq and the Arabian peninsula.

Many outsiders have dismissed the call for Arab unity as mere rhetoric. But, as the Libyan leader told his Arab audiences, the face is there is now a gaping hole at the centre of the Arab world, where the Israelis, backed by the Americans, have seized Palestine and Egypt. On either side of the enemy bridgehead stand Libya and Syria, now working to realise their own unity. The fall of either of these two countries would mean the end of the Arab nation; it would not be long before other regimes, by no means as steadfast as Libya, Algeria and Syria, would also be swept away. It is no longer mere rhetoric to point out that the alternative to Arab unity is Arab annihilation.

But unity, as Qadhafi pointed out, cannot be realised simply by the cohesion of regimes which themselves have done nothing to counter the Zionist and imperialist advance into the Arab homeland. Unity must come by the movement of the people themselves. The Arabs have to replace those instruments of power which cannot stop the imperialist rampage; they have to take power into their own hands.

Those Arab regimes which support America are an obstacle to Arab unity, because they carry out US policy. Whatever they say, these Arabs must oppose unity, because Washington is implacably hostile to anything which would damage America's interests in Arab oil and the preservation of the Zionist entity. A major tactic in this undermining of unity is the creation of sideshows such as the war between Iraq and Iran, intended to divert the Arabs from the main enemy.

As Qadhafi said, those who are really opposed to unity cloak their objections by pretending that they support it, but are daunted by the alleged practical problems of bringing it about. Having recognised this 'concern' for the dishonest tactic which it is, the task is to persuade ordinary people, who are also aware that there are problems, that these can be overcome.

In Algeria, the National Liberation Front, the FLN, which fought for independence from France, came into being as a merger of existing political and resistance organisations. Each of these had their own structures and cadres, but they were brought together. It was essential that they were unified in this way; divided, they would never have beaten the French.

What Muammer Qadhafi proposed to his audiences in the Arab Maghreb was a similar process. The moves towards unity, he said, must take into account existing regionalist feelings in the Arab nation; to do otherwise would be 'an act of sentiment, not of reason', as he put it. Libya, Syria, and Algeria had different internal political structures. Libya had people's power exercised through the people's congresses; Syria had a nationalist party, Algeria, the FLN.

Some of those who claim to support unity in practice oppose all moves towards it on the grounds that they are over-hasty, and may lead to failure and hence the setting back of the whole enterprise. Colonel Qadhafi in raising again the whole question of unity, took due note of this. His proposal — that there should immediately commence joint meetings between comparable bodies in Arab states, for example between the Libyan General People's Committee and the Algerian Council of Ministers — takes note of the realities of regionalist sentiment, without capitulating to it. It is a small practical step, but one which is actually in the right direction — of eventual total Arab unity. And most importantly, it undercuts the objections to unity from those who only pretend to support it.

It is to be hoped that these proposals are taken up by the Arabs, particularly the ordinary people, who are the ones who stand to derive the greatest benefit from it. For when critics say that badly-planned and over-hasty moves towards unity have damaged the Arab nation in the past, they ignore one thing; that the damage which the imperialists and the Zionists have done in the absence of that unity has been far greater than any harm arising from badly planned, but ultimately well-intentioned unionist initiatives.

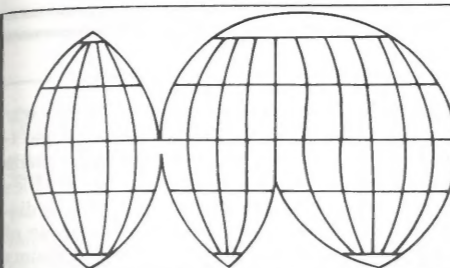
Those who want unity have always been those who are most aware of the dangers. They are the ones who have drawn attention to the pressing threats to the Arab people posed by foreign imperialism. These threats are not at the level of political theory, but, as the Palestinians and Lebanese have discovered, at the everyday level of mere existence. Further, the threat of Zionism is the reality of the stolen form, the bombed home, or the murdered child.

At the same time as the Algerian and Tunisian people were greeting Muammer Qadhafi, Moroccans and Saudis had to stand silently by as their rulers welcome Israel's backers. Secretary of State Haig went to Morocco to inform King Hassan that the UN wants to recover the bases which they voluntarily abandoned only two years ago. His Majesty cannot say no. Secretary of Defence Weinberger went to Saudi Arabia, and presided over the creation of a joint US-Saudi military committee to oversee the Saudi armed forces on behalf of the Americans.

Small wonder that Muammer Qadhafi stresses the urgency for Arab unity to be created right now. After these visits by top US officials, Arab foreign ministers gathered in Tunis and blocked calls from the countries of the Steadfastness Front for the fight against Zionist aggression to be carried to Israel's masters in the United States.

After his recent trip to various Arab countries, Weinberger admitted to journalists that America's real concern in the Middle East was not Soviet actions, but 'internal subversion', the US term for progressive and democratic forces. The Rapid Deployment Force is ready to seize Arab oil — not in the face of anything the USSR may do, but to keep it from the hands of the Arab people. How long will it be before those regimes which today zealously protect America and the Zionists are swept away by the US itself, in order to install even more pliable puppets to repress the Arab nation?

The choices for the Arabs have never been clearer. Between the unity and steadfastness advocated by Muammer Qadhafi, and the capitulation to the Zionist and American enemy, there is no middle way.



# PANORAMA

## news review

### Washington admits to troops in Chad

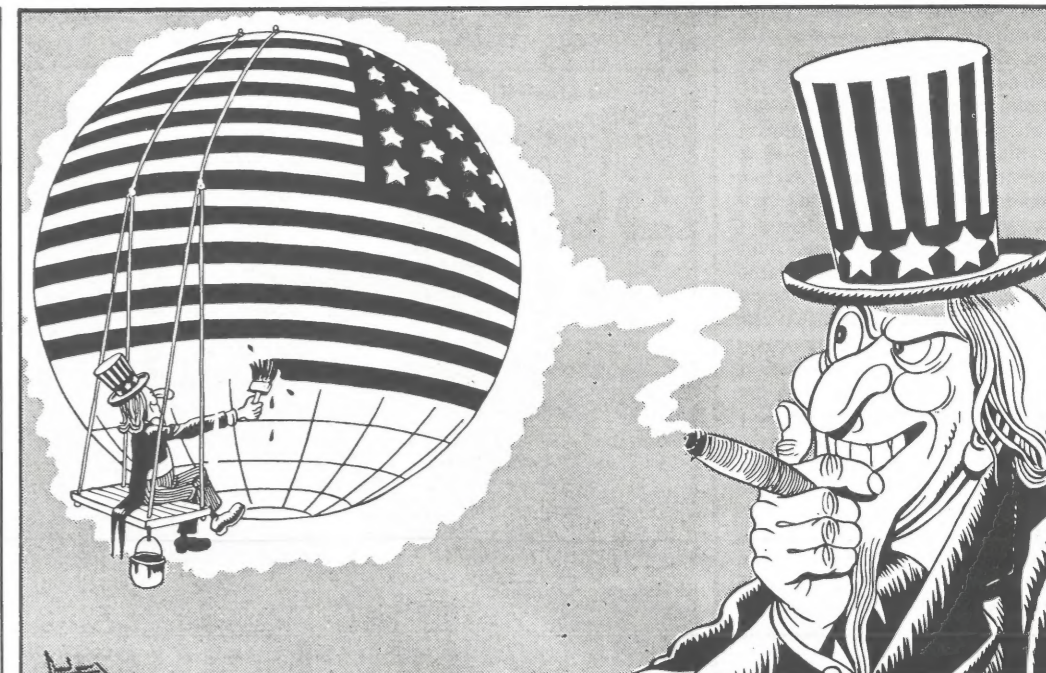
AMERICAN TROOPS were sent to Chad, following Libya's withdrawal, the US Defence Department has admitted. But the Americans now claim that they have all been recalled. The Foreign Liaison Bureau, the Libyan Jamahiriya's equivalent of a foreign ministry, disclosed on 27th January that US troops were serving with the 'African' peacekeeping forces nominally under the auspices of the OAU.

The following day, the US presence was admitted by a Pentagon spokesman, who said that in December, military personnel had accompanied the logistic support — air and surface transport — which Washington sent to aid the 2,000-strong Zairean contingent of the African force. But the Pentagon spokesman claimed that the Americans had now withdrawn. Four US transport planes delivered an ambulance, a dismantled pontoon bridge, tents, blankets and food for the Zairean troops. The US allocated \$10 to \$12 million for the 'African' force after an appeal from Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko in December.

The Libyan Foreign Liaison Bureau said that the development was one which could not be ignored by the Jamahiriya, or other African countries which also wanted peace and stability in Chad. The intervention of a great power in Chad would drag it into the sphere of international conflict and, by endangering the stability and security of a fraternal African country, threaten Libya's own security.

'The Libyan Jamahiriya, which previously decided not to send military forces even if requested to do so, cannot stand with arms folded towards the presence of US forces in Chad,' the Bureau warned.

African countries should shoulder their own responsibilities in respect of the US presence, the Bureau's statement said; the American intervention was a breach of the OAU's decisions on Chad.



### Libya explores new Lebanon initiative

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is trying a cautious new initiative to bring together both sides in Lebanon. On 5th February, the Secretary of the Libyan Brotherhood Bureau in Beirut, Abdel Qadir Ghuqah met parliamentary deputies from the independent Maronite group at the home of one of them, Jubran Tawq. The Maronite deputies, though representing Lebanon's Christian community, do not sympathise with the overtly pro-Israeli position taken by the Maronite paramilitary groups led by Bashir Gemayal.

After the meeting, Secretary Ghuqah told the *Voice of Lebanon* radio that Libya wanted to see a purely Lebanese solution to the country's crisis. Behind the contacts was an offer for an initiative to end the conflict, he said. The Libyan official said that he would be seeking to have contacts with 'all the functionaries of all the various trends in various parts of Lebanon'. The moves were not just confined to parliamentary groups, he stressed.

Deputy Tawq told reporters: 'What attracts the attention is that the old image of Libya has changed. These meetings are

necessary because they are beneficial to both sides.'

Speaking to a visiting delegation of Lebanese university teachers in Tripoli on 9th February, Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi said that the people of Lebanon were 'the vanguard of the Arab nation, living a life of hardship and courageously fighting the enemy'. The Lebanese people were paying a high price for the Palestinian cause, while other Arabs looked on as spectators. Such Arabs were 'guilty of treachery', the Libyan leader declared.

### Qadhafi attacks Jordan's Gulf moves

MUAMMER QADHAFI has sharply criticised an announcement by King Hussein of Jordan that volunteers are being sought to fight alongside Iraq in its war against Iran. 'We had thought that King Hussein might call for volunteers to liberate Palestine and Holy Jerusalem, which is within a stone's throw of his home, and not for the fight against Iran,' the Libyan leader said with heavy irony.

Commenting on the war in the Gulf, Colonel Qadhafi said that 'America has mounted an Arab steed, and is directing it as it wishes to serve its own aims

and Zionist objectives.' He continued: 'The Arab countries have started replacing their real enemy with another one; they are ignoring the real enemy and preaching a new message which serves American and Israeli aims.'

The Libyan leader called for a change in Arab attitudes: 'The correct attitude is for Arab fire to be directed against the Zionist enemy, which threatens the Arabs' very existence. Iran should be left alone.'

Libya was opposed to Iran occupying any part of Iraqi territory, but equally against 'Iraq occupying any area of Iran'. Libya would direct all its efforts towards ending the war 'by wisdom and reason', he said.

### Americans stay in Libya

NUMEROUS AMERICANS are defying the instructions of the Reagan administration and staying at their jobs in Libya, where they are as welcome and as safe as ever. 'My wife and I will stay as long as it's legal. We don't feel in any physical danger and I'd like at least for my son to finish the school year in June,' said Skender Brame, a teacher at the oil companies' school for foreign children in Tripoli, in an interview with the American news agency *Associated Press* on the

telephone from Rome at the end of January.

The AP story appeared in the English-language Abu Dhabi daily *Emirates News* on 30th January, but was otherwise ignored by the British and American media. The Reagan administration has urged Americans to leave Libya, and has made passports invalid for travel to the Jamahiriya. The idea is that once the Americans leave, they are not supposed to return. The AP story said that Libyan officials were helping those Americans wishing to make round trips to and from the Jamahiriya by not stamping exit visas into their passports.

The five US oil companies operating in Libya have hired Canadians and west Europeans to replace those Americans who have gone. 'If the order [to leave] was intended as some kind of punishment of Qadhafi, then it's been a failure,' one oil company executive declared.

*Middle East Economic Digest* on 29th January reported that one firm, Atlas Incorporated, had filled 30 jobs in oil exploration and extraction with Canadians. The London weekly quoted oil industry sources as saying that 40 per cent of the 1,500 Americans in Libya were staying on.

## Golan Druse strike against occupation

THE PEOPLE of the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights began an indefinite strike against their Zionist occupiers on 14th February. The strike closed all shops, industries and schools in the occupied Golan. The action of the local people, most of whom belong to the Islamic Druse sect, followed the arrest of four of their leaders, the brothers Suleiman and Kamal Kanj, a son of Suleiman Kanj, and Mahmoud Hassan Safadi. Kamal Kanj is a former member of Syria's Parliament.

The four had been among the organisers of an acid memorandum to the Zionist occupation forces in the week before their arrest. The occupiers — who in December last 'extended Zionist laws' to the territory — were told: 'The Druse residents are first Syrian Arabs. Their villages and their land are part of Syrian soil. We do not intend to act against the security of the State, but we will resist you if you force us to be Israeli citizens.'

Local people have seen their lands seized and have their livelihoods removed by the occupation. Now, the enterprises set up by the Zionist colonisers, mainly Americans and Europeans, are refusing to employ local people unless they accept Israeli identity cards.



Arab League Ambassador at the UN, Clovis Maksoud, accuses the Zionist state of trying to paralyse the United Nations during an angry denunciation of the Zionists' annexation of the Syrian Golan. See item left.

## Pentagon boosts aid as Zionists seek 'longer range' capability

TWO WEEKS after Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, it was reported in Washington that the Pentagon is proposing to increase arms credits to Israel in the next fiscal year to \$1.7 billion. This represents a \$300 million boost over what the Zionist state has received for the past two fiscal years, the *Washington Post* reported on 31st December.

A separate report in the *Christian Science Monitor* on 29th December disclosed that US public aid over the last three years averaged \$3 billion annually, and will rise again in 1982. It was, said the paper, 'a rare counterexample to the slashed budget of the administration's domestic programmes'.

On the military aid level, the Zionists are reported by the *Washington Post* to be seeking the

supply of four KC-135 tanker aircraft for refuelling F-15s and F-16s 'to give them longer range'. Supply of the aircraft was discussed in Washington during the November 1981 visit there by the Zionist Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

The implications of the Zionists' intention of securing a 'longer range' have to be seen against the background of the 1981 Zionist attacks on Baghdad and Beirut. More than 400 civilians were killed in the latter raid last July.

## Poison gas for Israel

A WEST Berlin firm has been illegally manufacturing a poison gas ingredient and shipping it to Israel. According to the West Berlin Prosecutor's Office, the chemical company, Ferak, has exported some 1.6 tonnes of thiophosgene since 1977, mostly to Israel. Thiophosgene is used in the manufacture of poison gases similar to those used in World War I.

The production of any war material in West Berlin contravenes the agreement made between the World War II allies who still govern the city. The discovery was made in the course of an investigation of complaints by residents about health hazards near the Ferak plant.

## Zimbabwe success chokes South Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN plans to subjugate Black African states in southern Africa have been seriously set back by the success of newly independent Zimbabwe. At the centre of the apartheid state's scheme was the intention of drawing African states in the region into dependency on the racist regime through food dependency.

The setback is the result of Zimbabwe's success in food production which has resulted in the Salisbury regime being about to export some 130,000 tons of locally grown maize throughout Africa. The result is that Africans are now feeding Africans. On a wider scale, of course, the Zimbabwean success will enable Africans to challenge and resist the use of food as a political weapon which is used by the United States.

The food war has not been without some insurgency and armed violence on the part of the South African regime, which suggests that western imperialism may yet resort to sabotage to block African efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in food supplies.

A report in *The Guardian* on 22nd January noted, 'South African maize is the key element in this strategy of creating a constellation of states bound economically to Pretoria. The Zimbabwean maize is a direct challenge to South Africa's regional designs.'

The London newspaper report by David Ward details South African sabotage operations to enforce its plans. It discloses: 'It is no surprise, therefore, to discover that South Africa was behind sabotage in Mozambique which disrupted the World Food Programme's "maize train" for three weeks. Last October, road and rail bridges over the River Pungwe, near Beira, were blown up, severing Zimbabwe's access to the Indian Ocean. The bombings were carried out by Mozambican dissidents called the Mozambique Resistance Movement, a force supported by the South African Defence Force.'

Subsequent sabotage occurred two weeks later, temporarily closing the Beira port, and interrupting Zimbabwe's food aid and other exports.

## Syria condemns US intervention

INCORRECT AND deliberately misleading statements about the internal situation in Syria issued by the American State Department were strongly attacked in an official Syrian statement on 11th February. 'The situation in Syria is normal and stable,' said the official statement. The new American attempt to stir incitement against Syria confirmed the existence of links between the United States and the Muslim Brotherhood, the extreme right-wing organisation responsible for 'a campaign of crimes against the Syrian people,' it added.

What had taken place in the town of Hama, said the Syrians, was simply a search operation to uncover the hideouts and arms caches of the Muslim Brotherhood. The American administration's insistence on spreading provocative disinformation, which they themselves knew to be untrue, 'is an attempt to divert world attention from the considerable diplomatic failure which it suffered at the UN General Assembly as a result of supporting the Israelis in the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights,' the Syrian statement concluded.

## Africans institute 'Qadhafi Prize'

THE ORGANISATION of African Unity has instituted the 'Muammer Qadhafi Prize' which will be awarded annually to the best African researcher into scientific, economic and literary works, the Libyan news agency JANA reported on 1st February. The OAU will be meeting in Tripoli in July.

## Greece faces pressure over independence

LIBYA, ALONG with Algeria and Iraq, is to provide oil for Greece on a barter basis in return for Greek citrus fruits, cotton and tobacco. The Libyan deal will also involve Greek agricultural produce being sold to the Soviet Union in return for payment in Libyan oil which the USSR has received in the course of trade with the Jamahiriya.

The move is seen as part of an initiative of the newly elected Socialist government under Andreas Papandreu to strengthen links with socialist Arab countries. A car and train ferry service from Volos in Greece to the Syrian port of Latakia is

planned in March, which will provide an additional link between the railways of Europe and the Arab homeland. Passengers and freight will be carried on the ferry, which will boost tourism and local industry.

But the Greek initiative has caused concern in the United States, which believes that Greek membership of NATO gives it a right to control Greek foreign policy. In a recent television interview, Premier Papandreu said that the problem about NATO was whether it guaranteed Greek integrity and national security, particularly in the light of the US decision to escalate arms deliveries to Turkey. In the inter-

view, with the Italian TV network, Mr Papandreu said that talks would begin in March about the future of US bases in Greece. Whatever the outcome, the Greek premier pledged he 'would never allow the bases to be used for operations against countries with which we have had good relations, such as the Arab countries'.

## Return Libyan antiquities call

LIBYAN ANTIQUITIES and works of art taken from the country by various colonial powers should

be returned, Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi said in a statement in February. The call was welcomed by the conference of working committees from the various sites under the administration of the Jamahiriya's Antiquities Department.

The conference, in Tripoli, supported Qadhafi's call for the popularisation of museums and his encouragement of the recording of popular history and Libya's heritage. The conference delegates in a telegram to the Libyan leader, said that they had laid down a scientific basis for changing the department and removing traces of the old regime, to help put ordinary people in touch with their cultural heritage.

During the first week of February, Education Secretary Dr Abdul Latif Zleitani signed a contract with an overseas firm to re-build the Jamahiri Museum, which is housed in the Saraya al-Hamra, the Citadel in Tripoli's Green Square. The new museum will be divided into four historical sections, an auditorium, a planetarium and a library. The contract covers renovation of the existing building and construction of a new wing. The total exhibition space will be 9,000 square metres.

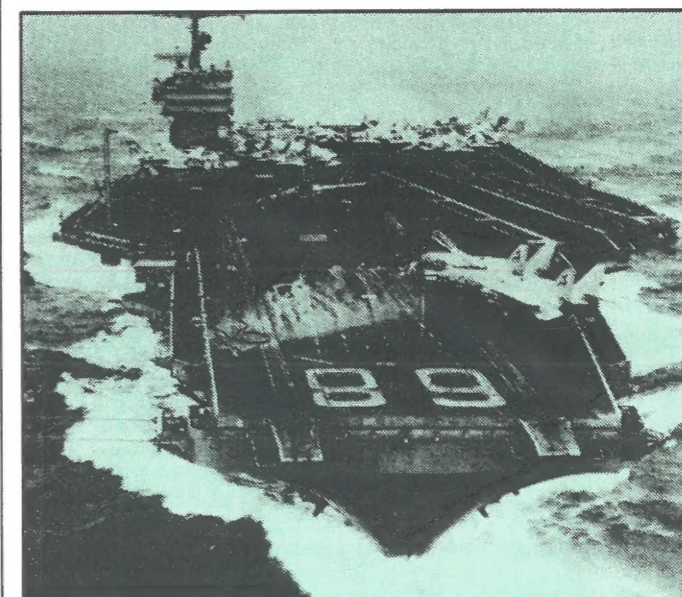
## 'Politicise Koran', Muslims told

THE HOLY Koran has the power to bring believers together in spiritual solidarity, but 'it needs in addition to be politicised,' Mohammed Abu Setta, Under-Secretary for Technical Affairs in the Foreign Liaison Bureau told the final meeting of the eighth session of the social and economic affairs committee of the Islamic Countries Organisation in Tripoli on 20th January.

The Libyan official said that the Jamahiriya would continue to support the spread of Islam throughout the world, and would continue its efforts to strengthen the position of Islam and Muslims as well as to consolidate relations among all Muslims in their confrontation with the common enemy.

## Writers occupy publishing house

WRITERS AND artists on 8th February took over the operation of the Jamahiriya's publishing house in Tripoli, and were joined by workers at the plant. Their action, in response to a call by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi is intended to assert



The USS Nimitz: Part of American forces threatening peace and security in the Mediterranean, and from which the US attacked two Libyan planes last year.

## US fighters buzz Libyan airliner

PROTESTS TO the United States from the Greek government and the Libyan authorities followed the 'buzzing' of a Libyan Arab Airlines Boeing 727 by US fighters in Greek airspace on Sunday 31st January. The incident happened at 3.25 pm Greek time as Flight LN153 was 30 miles south-west of Athens on a scheduled flight to Tripoli. The two fighters were US Navy F-14s, probably from the carrier *John F Kennedy*, which is on patrol with the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

The Greek Foreign Minister, Mr Yannis Haralambopoulos, called in the American Ambassador in Athens, Mr Montague Sterns, to deliver the official Greek protest. Mr Haralambopoulos also talked the matter over with the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Athens, Mr Muhammad El Gamoudi.

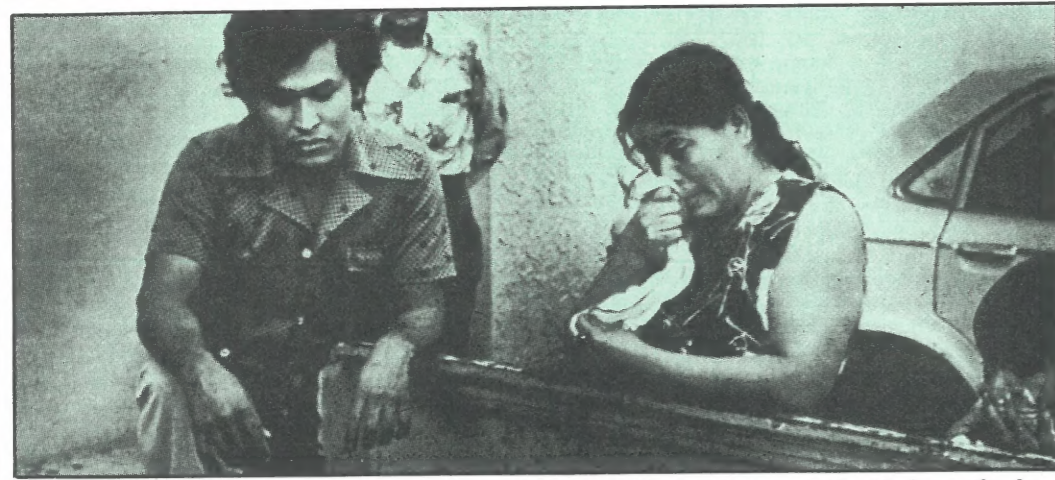
In Tripoli, the Belgian Ambassador was handed a strongly worded note about the incident.

Belgium looks after US interests in the Jamahiriya since the US pulled out its diplomats from the Libyan capital. The Under-Secretary for Liaison at the Foreign Liaison Bureau described the act as 'barbaric and provocative, a flagrant threat to the safety of civilian aviation and contrary to international aviation law.'

The Greek chargé d'affaires in Tripoli was summoned and told of the protest. The Foreign Liaison Bureau also pointed out the dangers to the security and safety of Greece's neighbours and other Mediterranean countries posed by foreign military bases in the region.

Similar protests were delivered to the UN Security Council, and to the government of the United Arab Emirates, which looks after Libyan interests in the US.

The message to the UN called on the Chairman of the Security Council to circulate the note to inform member countries of 'the dangers of such a terrorist action by the US'. The Americans were continually trying to escalate aggressive campaigns against the Libyan people, the note said.



A family weeps: The human face of El Salvador, as a victim of the US backed regime is identified recently after a pre-dawn massacre in which 19 civilians died. See Nicaragua report below.

► traditional Islamic values in Libyan publishing.

In his speech to the Writers' Guild on 5th February, Qadhafi urged writers and artists to examine the problems of the Arab homeland rather than allowing Libyans' attention to be diverted to those of other nations.

A statement issued immediately after the take-over by the writers re-affirmed the role of the publishing house in disseminating knowledge of the Holy Koran so that future generations might benefit from the spiritual wisdom and values of Islam. The revolutionary take-over was also aimed at encouraging the Libyan people to participate more in the cultural life of the nation, in music, film and theatre. The writers declared that they would free the administration from all routine and bureaucratic measures.

## Reagan plans terror against Nicaragua

THE REAGAN Administration has openly admitted that it is trying to bring down the revolutionary government of Nicaragua. The *International Herald Tribune* said on 15th February that Reagan 'has authorised a broad programme of US planning and action in Central America, including the encouragement of political and paramilitary operations by other governments against the Cuban presence in Nicaragua,' according to 'informed sources'.

The Administration's plans were laid by a meeting of the National Security Council, and would include economic and propaganda moves 'designed to disrupt alleged Cuban-Nicaraguan supply lines to guerrilla forces in El Salvador, the paper said. Neutral observers have failed to detect any such supply lines, and a US government attempt last year to provide

'documentary proof' of Cuban involvement was exposed as a series of relatively crude forgeries. More such fraud by the US is now widely expected.

Meanwhile, the US is also training exiled Nicaraguans in America, and Honduras, Guatemala and Argentina, creating what some observers have dubbed a 'central American Legion' intended to overthrow progressive governments in the region.

The report also spoke of a \$19 million plan proposed by the CIA to 'create political opposition to the Sandinista government, and action teams for paramilitary action against its supporters,' 'in Nicaragua and elsewhere'. Observers feel that France, which has supplied defensive weaponry to the Sandinista government, may be a prime target.

A Nicaraguan delegation headed by the Minister of Agricultural Development, Jaime Wheelock Roman, a member of the Sandinistas' national leadership, left Tripoli on 11th February after attending the first meeting of the Libyan Arab-Nicaraguan Committee for economic, agricultural and technical co-operation.

'We have made important steps towards consolidating relations between the two revolutions,' Mr Wheelock said before his departure. The visit had been particularly important in building relationships at the political and economic levels, and in confronting imperialism and gaining support for the Sandinista revolution world-wide.

## Abu Ein deportation: Reagan's man lied

WILLIAM CLARK, appointed National Security Adviser by President Reagan in January,

'effectively double-crossed' Arab ambassadors in Washington to secure the deportation of a Palestinian to Israel without provoking anti-American demonstrations. The London-based *New Statesman* revealed on 5th February that Clark, for the past year Deputy Secretary of State, had given assurances to Arab diplomatic representatives in Washington in December last year that Ziad Abu Eain, a Palestinian accused by the Israelis of participation in resistance operations, would not be deported until his American lawyers had a chance to enter a plea for political asylum on his behalf.

Clark's worthless assurances were given immediately after the Supreme Court had rejected Abu Eain's appeal against deportation on 13th October last year. The decision on his deportation then lay with Clark. Several meetings with Arab envoys produced the impression that the US official was sympathetic to Abu Eain's case. The Israeli lobby sprang into action; the Zionists' Ambassador in Washington wrote out a motion, which was tabled in the Senate by right winger Dan Quayle, calling for the Palestinian to be shipped to Israel forthwith. Quayle and the Israelis alleged that a delayed decision would mean that a US court might free Abu Eain on bail, though the Palestinian's lawyers, aware that the chances of this were non-existent, were not even planning such a move.

Abu Eain's conversations with his lawyers were being intercepted by the authorities, the *New Statesman* said. Through this, Clark learnt that an appeal for political asylum was planned. On 11th December, four Arab ambassadors were called by Clark, and informed that no decision had yet been taken; a meeting arranged for 17th December to discuss the matter would go ahead as planned; Clark was still sympathetic, he lied to the Arab envoys. In fact, on 9th December, an Israeli police captain had

arrived in New York to take Abu Eain back to occupied Palestine. His arrival was known to Clark's personal assistant, and presumably to the man himself.

Having secured assurances from the Arab envoys that there would be no demonstrations in the Arab world against American property — 'the one threat the State Department took seriously,' said the *New Statesman* — Clark signed the deportation order on 12th December. Abu Eain's fate was sealed. The *New Statesman* commented: 'In his year at the State Department, Clark's handling of foreign policy followed a consistent pattern. He would give the impression of favouring one side in a dispute in order to forestall opposition, until his actions ultimately served another.'

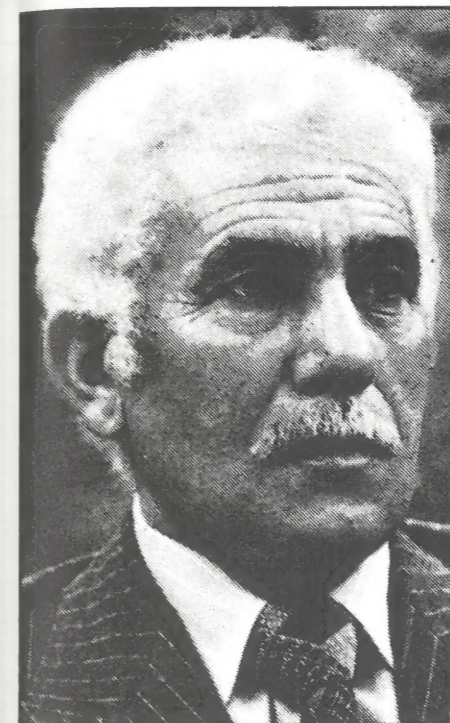
## New municipal administrations chosen

SELECTION OF executive committees to run the Jamahiriya's municipalities took place in the second week of February. Each municipality chose members for fifteen committees, each corresponding to one of the fifteen Secretariats which administer official business on a country-wide basis. The Secretariats correspond to ministries in traditional political systems.

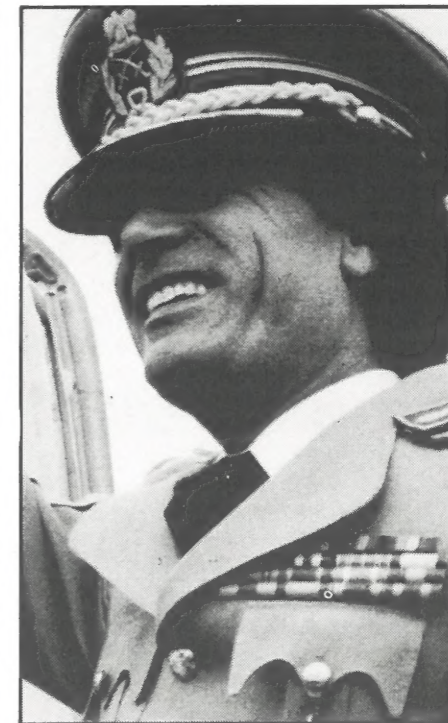
The selection was done by the Basic People's Congresses, to which all Libyans belong. There are 173 Basic Congresses, organised on a community and neighbourhood basis. The procedure was agreed by the January meeting of the General People's Congress, Libya's legislature. Four guidelines were agreed for selection to the Municipal committees; adherence in words and actions to the ideas of the revolution; high moral standards; and technical qualifications and expertise in the field covered by the committee.

## Iraq ties renewed

LIBYAN OFFICIALS went to Baghdad in January in order to prepare for the re-opening of the Libyan Brotherhood Bureau — as Libyan missions in other Arab states are called. The re-opening follows the decision of the two countries to renew diplomatic ties in the wake of the Zionist annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, as part of efforts to rebuild Arab unity against aggression. Iraq severed links in 1980 after Libyan criticism of its actions in the war with Iran.



Algeria's President Chadli Benjedid



Muammar Qadhafi asserts the urgency for Arab unity

# Qadhafi visits Algeria and Tunisia to strengthen co-operation

WITH THE Arab nation facing an increasingly belligerent Zionist regime, and American schemes to bring the Arab homeland under firmer United States control, a surprise new initiative came from the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi in late January. With little forewarning, he set out on a tour of Algeria and Tunisia in a determined effort to bring the three states into closer harmony.

The immediate success of his initiative was shown by the decision announced in Algiers that joint sessions of Libya's General People's Committee and the Algerian Council of Ministers would soon take place as the first stage in a process towards eventual union between the two states. Moreover, developments since the Libyan leader's visit to Tunisia suggest a notable thaw in relations, with the signing of a transport and communications agreement in early February, and reports that a Libyan supported international conference on Zionism will be staged in Tunis in late March.

For the Americans, Qadhafi's moves must be highly irritating. In just a few days the Libyan leader appears to have set back months of American intrigues in the region aimed not merely at isolating Libya from her Arab neighbours, but intended to equip Tunisia for what many observers believed to be readiness for military action against the Jamahiriya (see inset report).

**THE RECENT visits to Algeria and Tunisia by the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi marked the launch of a new initiative to unify Arab ranks in the area. Louis Eaks reports on the tour and assesses the implications against the background of American schemes in the region.**

This is not the first time that Muammar Qadhafi has sought to bring the Arabs of the area into closer harmony. And no doubt covert American action is underway for renewed US effort to thwart such developments. But the proposals put to the Algerian leadership by Qadhafi appear to be modelled on the approach adopted as the basis for the Libyan-Syrian unity plan. The emphasis is to be on establishing co-operation particularly at popular levels, bringing the political decision making processes of the two countries into contact, and thereby creating a unity of the mind between two Arab communities separated by the legacy of colonialism and the barriers of regionalist states.

In particular, it was evident from the Libyan leader's speeches that he is discouraging any form of unified political organisation. This may be the long-term ideal and the goal of Arab unionists, but Qadhafi argued in Algiers that experience had shown that union merely between political leaderships was fraught with dangers. Unity had to be forged first on the popular people-to-people level.

Muammar Qadhafi arrived in Algiers in mid-January, and during his stay he held talks with President Chadli Benjedid and other Algerian leaders. Moreover, he addressed two important meetings with the leaders and cadres of the ruling FLN Party and students from Algerian universities, institutes and secondary schools.

The Libyan leader made it clear that Arab unity could not be dismissed simply as an idealist's dream. It was a practical and urgent necessity in the face of the imperialist challenge to the Arab nation. Israel, he declared in a speech to the FLN Party leadership and cadres on 21st January, was advancing 'under the American umbrella', and he urged the Arab nation to 'face up to the threat of American imperialism' which had made a 'direct return' to the Arab world.

He called for 'practical political measures that can be taken in the region' so that progressive Arab forces could regain the initiative from those working for the interests of colonialism and the Zionists. Muammar Qadhafi declared that the Arab experience was the legacy of colonialism. 'We are living in a transient reality created by colonialism. Previously, we did not have passports or borders in the Arab nation. Colonialism created these phenomena, yet, regrettably, we continue to entrench them.' The lessons of the past should be heeded for what Qadhafi described as 'new Arab political action'.

'We should go beyond national liberation to pan-Arab liberation. Otherwise, we stop halfway along the road,' Qadhafi told the Algerians. The Libyan leader, however, was careful to qualify the action towards unity which he believed advisable at this stage. Firstly, he called for unity between Arab states 'on a bilateral or trilateral basis'. And, pointing to the model of the Syrian-Libyan unity scheme, he proposed 'a reasonable and acceptable form of unity between Libya and Algeria', which would take 'advantage of previous experience' by adopting a method which did not 'tamper with any political and administrative procedures already in existence in Arab countries'.

In effect, Qadhafi is saying to Algeria and other Arab states that although Libya remains committed to the *jamahiri* system of people's democracy, the Jamahiriya is ready to act in union with other states regardless of the present political system. The formula put to the Algerians 'grudgingly acknowledges the reality of secession imposed on us', Qadhafi declared. He referred to the 'political and administrative realities in both our countries and other Arab states' which had led to 'some

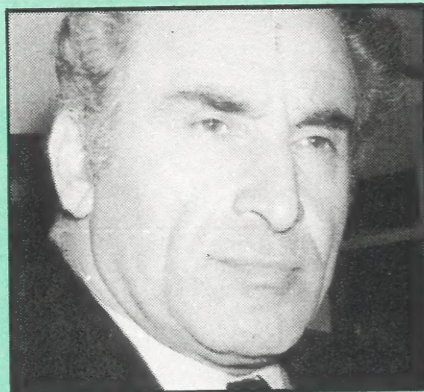
## Tunisian Premier receives Qadhafi

MUAMMER QADHAFI'S arrival in Tunisia on a surprise visit to the Jamahiriya's western neighbour, on his return to Tripoli overland from Algiers, seems to have undermined a determined campaign by the United States to disrupt relations between the two Arab states. As late as last November Washington was agreeing military loans to Tunisia valued at \$95 million and declaring that the Arab state's 'main defence worry' was Libya. American strategy has been aimed at securing Tunisian support in a US intervention in the Jamahiriya, although Washington has consistently failed to secure any degree of Tunisian support for such an adventure that Pentagon hawks expected.

Relations between the two countries cooled dramatically in January 1980 when Libya was accused of masterminding the Tunisian uprising in Gafsa; subsequent failure to produce the evidence to substantiate such a serious charge, which was purely in the minds of western mediemen and American intelligence agents, slowly led to improved relations.

Qadhafi's brief and unexpected visit appears to have set the seal on a new era of co-operation. At Sfax, the Libyan leader was received by the Tunisian Ministers of Economy, Justice, Planning and Finance, and municipal leaders, who accompanied him to Gabes where he held talks with Tunisian Premier Mohammed Mazali.

Few details of the talks have been released, but an earlier interview with Premier Mazali in the Paris daily *Le Monde* on 16th January suggests that his meeting with Qadhafi was in a cordial and friendly



Tunisian Premier Mohammed Mazali

atmosphere. He told *Le Monde* that ties with Libya had improved, and he was 'ready to visit Libya' as soon as possible to discuss the dispute over oil exploration in the Gulf of Gabes.

Two subsequent events point to the new rapprochement which Qadhafi's visit consolidated. On 2nd February Tunisia's Minister of Transport and Communications left Tripoli after signing an agreement on transport and communications co-operation with the Jamahiriya, which covered co-operation in rail and road transport, postal services, marine transport and exchange of expertise and training. The Tunisian Minister, Sadeq Bin Jumaa told JANA his visit had achieved positive results aimed at increasing co-operation between the Libyan and Tunisian peoples.

On 8th February, JANA reported plans for a symposium on the imperialist-Zionist cultural invasion of the Arab nation to be held in Tunis in late March. Details had been finalised at a meeting of the preparatory committee meeting in Tripoli, the Libyan capital.

contradictions'. But, he added, 'in reality these are only superficial matters', continuing, 'The essential matters are the integrity of Arab soil, the Arab people, their nation, its history, their beliefs, language and common fate.'

He described the Algerian FLN as 'a purely nationalist Algerian choice', which had developed 'from a coalition of several parties into one integrated whole'. In Libya there were 'different arrangements' existing such as people's congresses and committees, which Muammar Qadhafi described as 'revolutionary Libyan choices' which 'do not cancel out Algerian choices' or the Syrian model of 'a party practising nationalist ideology'.

'This new framework for unity takes regionalism into consideration and does not attempt to supersede it,' Qadhafi said. 'It further acknowledges administrative and political processes existing in every state. It is therefore possible to establish political unity between Libya and Algeria, for example, without changing the political and administrative systems in Algeria and Libya.'

### Joint meetings

The Libyan leader explained, 'Actual unity between Libya and Algeria can be established without political or adminis-

trative changes. What is currently being debated, if not already chosen, is a safe and peaceful path for unity calling for a merger between the two countries. Before the announcement of this union, we shall be passing through a preliminary stage in which unionist experiments are to be carried out so that the framework for unity is a success.'

Qadhafi continued, 'Among important steps agreed upon during this visit with President Chadli and his associates is the start of regular, joint meetings between the General People's Committee in Libya and the Council of Ministers in Algeria. These two bodies are to meet as one executive organ to discuss the problems of both states and take single united decisions to be carried out in both states. If this process succeeds and continues, we shall have unified both countries before the actual declaration of political union.'

The process would 'inevitably need time to be carried out,' Qadhafi admitted, but he disclosed that the first unified meeting would be held in Algeria during February, followed at a later stage by a unified meeting of the Algerian National People's Council and the Libyan General People's Congress 'in the form of a pan-Arab congress'. The latter would 'issue unified

### Opposition mocked

Although the plans outlined by Muammar Qadhafi appear to be a major step towards unification of the two countries, the Libyan leader warned that this was not the case or the intention. 'We are not calling for the immediate dissolution of border nor a revolutionary merger of both states,' he told the meeting. 'This is a bold step that may be opposed on two fronts,' he warned.

Opposition to unity came on two fronts, he warned. There were those who failed to take any initiative towards Arab unity, arguing that if it failed it would set back the unity movement, while others avoided such steps by saying it should be 'guaranteed, well-planned and reasonable', Qadhafi said.

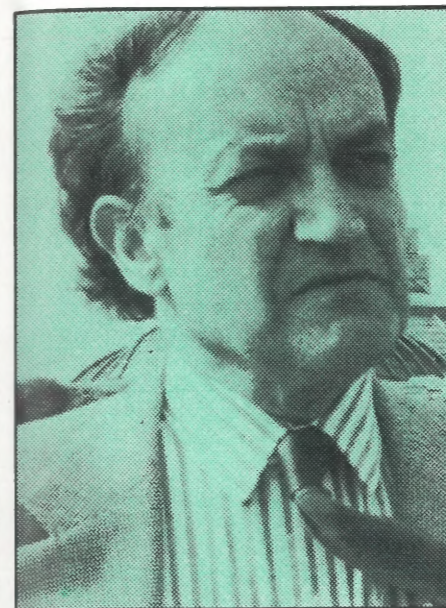
The Libyan-Algerian proposals took all these objections into account. 'There are no more excuses left for anyone, for we have finally reached the carefully-studied, cautious, reasonable, guaranteed, non-merging and gradual form of unity that is currently being debated.'

'I wonder what new excuse the secessionists will come up with to hinder this unity,' Qadhafi said. 'Perhaps a whole new page shall be added to the Arab dictionary to explain these new reservations to hinder Arab unity, because all today's expressions have been totally used up!'

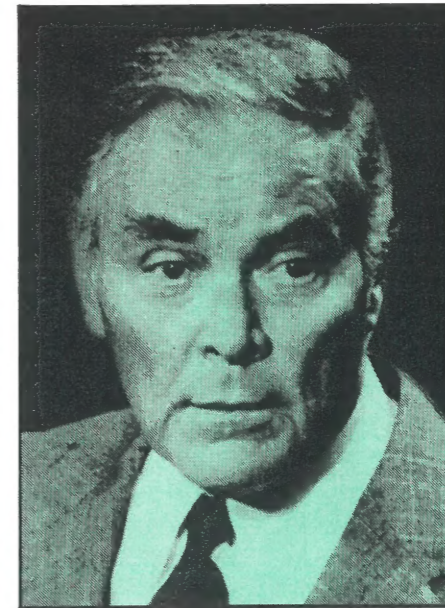
He continued, 'They say unity is a decision which should not be taken in haste. Very well, we are not seeking a merger from the outset. They say regionalist considerations should be taken into account. Very well, we have noted this. They say we should respect the political and administrative systems in each individual state and not impose individual experience on other states. We have now said that we respect these factors. So, what are the excuses which enemies of Arab unity are going to use?'

The urgent need for unity should not be taken lightly, the Libyan leader stressed. The threat from the United States and Israel was not only real, but was poised to strike far beyond the borders of occupied Palestine. He pointed to the Zionist air strikes against the Lebanon and Baghdad, Israeli missions over Saudi territory, the annexation of the Golan, and the Zionist presence in Egypt along the borders with the Jamahiriya.

Arab unity had to be forged against this background. 'I am talking clearly on this matter because it is not my concern alone. It is the concern of all Arabs,' Qadhafi declared. 'I am speaking on this matter purely as an Arab who feels the agony of a nation torn apart, insulted, confronted and on the path leading to dissolution. The time has come for us to end this shame.'



France's Claude Cheysson



Washington's General Haig



Germany's Helmut Schmidt

## Pressures to isolate Libya in Europe

IRELAND HAS inadvertently incurred America's wrath because of its relations with Libya. At the centre of the row was a Boeing 707 cargo plane, which the Irish national airline Aer Lingus wanted to sell to United African Airlines, the Jamahiriya's second airline, which operates in Africa. As the US-sponsored campaign against Libya began to build up at the end of last year, the Department of Commerce issued a directive in September prohibiting the export of certain kinds of goods to Libya — even second hand. Aircraft were included in this category.

Patrick Cooney, then Ireland's Transport Minister told the Dail, the Irish Parliament, in December that the Americans had learnt of the possible Boeing sale, and had 'brought the order to the attention' of the government and Aer Lingus. Aer Lingus backed down, and returned the deposit which had already been paid by Libya. Opposition transport spokesman Albert Reynolds accused the Dublin government of being 'weak-kneed' and of jeopardising Irish trade with Libya.

Ireland has a positive trade balance with Libya, accounted for by industrial projects and beef sales. Irish trade with Libya was £80 million in the first nine months of 1981.

The Americans used crude blackmail to force Aer Lingus to call off the sale. The Irish airline has sixteen Boeings in its 20-plane fleet, and threats were made that spare parts would no longer be supplied for them if the sale to UAA went ahead. An Aer Lingus subsidiary company based at Stanstead Airport in southern England has also been warned that if it continues servicing UAA planes, then it will be prevented from buying any US equipment — including spares for other airlines' planes which it also services.

The demand that Ireland cut trade links with the Jamahiriya was conveyed to the Dublin government by William

**THE REAGAN administration is losing the battle to force its European allies to back it in its campaign of economic and political terror against Libya. The trading interests of western European countries are winning out over suggestions of an economic boycott. But, as Phil Kelly indicates in the second part of this analysis, the US is resorting to increasingly desperate tactics in its vain attempt to hit at Libya.**

Clark, then the Deputy Secretary of State, and now President Reagan's National Security Adviser. Clark was personally responsible for the recent deportation to Israel of Palestinian student Ziad Abu Eain. (See *Panorama News Review*.)

Nevertheless, UAA is still in the air, and still flying 707s — including one which came via Belgium. UAA has also acquired four Lockheed Hercules C-130 cargo planes. Since 1972, successive American administrations have refused to allow Libya to have eight C-130s and have impounded the aircraft, bought and paid for by the Jamahiriya. They have stood at the maker's factory in Georgia for the past ten years. Now, Libya has used the world's second-hand aircraft market to bypass such restrictions; but the Jamahiriya would prefer to acquire its aircraft and other material openly.

### West Germany

When US Secretary of State Alexander

Haig tried to force NATO allies to go along with action against Libya during the NATO ministerial meeting in Brussels in December, West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher made it clear to the media that his government did not share the US view. West German firms are heavily involved in industrial developments in Libya, and Libya is West Germany's third largest supplier of oil.

Recent contracts include desalination plants, and subcontracts on the massive iron and steel complex under construction at Misrata.

In January last year, following a visit to Bonn by the then Libyan Secretary for Foreign Liaison, Ahmed Shahati, the German-Libyan Economic Commission, which had been in abeyance for several years, was revived. Shortly after the NATO meeting, a member of the German Parliament, the Bundestag, arrived in Tripoli for talks with Libyan officials. The parliamentarian was Jurgen Mollemann, a member of the Free Democratic Party, which is led by Foreign Minister Genscher. Mollemann is known to be a close associate of Genscher's, and the visit was regarded as allowing an exchange of views without the deliberate snub to the Americans which the despatch of an official to Tripoli would have implied.

### France

The election in May last year of a reforming Socialist government under President François Mitterand allowed a dramatic improvement in relations between the Jamahiriya and France. At the NATO meeting in Brussels, Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson was open in his condemnation of US policy. 'To isolate Libya would be a mistake,' he told reporters. Shortly before the NATO meeting, Cheysson had also despatched a personal envoy, Jacques Andreani, Under Secre-

■ tary for Political Affairs at the Foreign Ministry, to Tripoli, where he met Libya's Secretary for Liaison for Foreign Affairs, Dr Ali Abdel Salem Treiki. On Andreani's return, the French issued a statement saying charges that Libya was interested in the destabilisation of other countries — a regular US excuse for anti-Libyan actions — were groundless.

But the Mitterand government is not united in its approach to the Jamahiriya. A similar split inside the ruling Socialist Party on policy towards the Jamahiriya bears remarkable resemblance to the line-up for and against the Americans in Italy (analysed in last month's *Jamahiriya Review*). While Cheysson was trying to improve relations with Libya, French Socialist politicians sympathetic to Israel were doing their best to push America's line.

Jean Pierre Cot, Minister of Economic Co-operation in charge of relations with African countries, and a known supporter of Israel is one of those trying to damage French-Libyan relations. Cot's ministry said that France would delay the supply of spare parts for French weapons to Libya, in line with Reagan's requests. The Foreign Ministry — and Libyan officials — said that there had been no such delay. The abortive attempt to help Israel re-establish diplomatic ties with some African countries during November and December was assisted by Guy Penne, President Mitterand's adviser on Africa, also a supporter of Israel.

Though the attempt to get diplomatic links restored was a failure, 'senior Libyan officials suspect that the US, France and Israel are trying to achieve several *faits accomplis* before the OAU... the latter would not be unhappy if Washington succeeded in getting a number of OAU members to boycott the Tripoli conference, or force it to be held elsewhere,' *Middle East* magazine reported in its February 1982 issue.

#### Sweden

Zionist interests were also responsible for the disruption of Libyan contacts with Sweden. Libyan officials had arranged in 1979 for training in various aspects of electronics and communications technology for Libyan soldiers. The Swedish firm responsible was the state-owned Telub electronics company, and ministers of both the three-party rightist government and the previous Social Democratic administration were aware that the training was defensive in nature, as is required by Swedish law, which prohibits the export of arms or military expertise to areas of conflict. The Telub deal arose out of a friendship and co-operation treaty signed by Social Democrat Premier Olaf Palme's government in 1974.

At the end of 1979, nine months after the deal was agreed, the daily paper *Espressen* started a campaign against it, claiming that the training was military in nature, and that this was in conflict with Swedish law because, it claimed, Libya

### Press reporting criticised

THE LONDON-based British Consultants Bureau (BCB) has said that negative reporting by the western media about life in the Jamahiriya had made it difficult for firms to recruit staff to work in Libya. The practical experience of consultants based in the Jamahiriya, some of them with their families, showed that Libya was in fact one of the most attractive countries in the Arab region for British workers, the BCB said.

This was the main point to emerge at a press conference organised by the BCB in late January, at which journalists were addressed by four senior consultants who had lived and worked almost continuously in Libya in recent years. The BCB said that the four consultants were agreed that 'the quality of British expatriate life in Libya is in many respects superior to that in other Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia'. The Libyans they say, 'are in no way anti-British. There is complete freedom of movement within the country. Expatriate wives can move around freely and safely, and can easily get employment as teachers, secretaries and nurses.'

The BCB statement continued: 'There are fascinating places to visit, especially for those interested in archaeology, and there are excellent opportunities for local holidays in Tunisia, Malta or even southern France. The education of young children is also no problem as the British Embassy in Tripoli runs an English Primary School which maintains a very high standard.'

Last year Britain exported goods worth about £500 million to Libya, but large 'invisible earnings' have also been made by British consulting firms. Department of Trade figures show that such firms currently have about 65 per cent of all consultancy work in the Jamahiriya.

The consultants addressing the BCB press conference said that it had been difficult to recruit staff to work in Libya because of the negative light in which the western media habitually portrayed the country. 'There have been several cases of journalists who, having encountered relatively minor problems while visiting the country, have written exaggerated and coloured accounts,' the BCB statement said, adding: 'By not reflecting the truth, these have been damaging to British interests.'

was 'an aggressor'. 'Owned by the Bonnier chain, the newspaper is a spokesman for the powerful pro-Israeli lobby in Sweden,' the journal *Africa Now* reported in its March 1981 issue. The Zionists also sponsored a letter-writing campaign to

other Swedish papers against the Telub deal.

The Zionists began their campaign after the deal had gone ahead. But the Swedish Ambassador in Tripoli in 1978 had warned his superiors in Stockholm that the Americans had already expressed their opposition to Telub's contacts with Libya — which at that stage amounted merely to preliminary negotiations. After the Zionists had worked up a storm in Sweden, government ministers began denying that they had understood the significance of the contract. But Telub's Chairman, retired General Benkt Dahlberg, has disclosed that all the relevant officials and ministers were aware from the beginning that Libyan soldiers would be undergoing training by Telub. Dahlberg became the scapegoat for the affair, being forced to resign in May 1980.

In the Swedish case, the US-Zionist pressure was successful. Telub tried to renege on the terms of its contract, and remove from it what it described as 'military training'. The Libyan authorities refused to accept this, as the contract had been signed in the full knowledge of both parties as to what the training entailed. The Swedish change of mind was nothing to do with a previously-unsuspected breach of Swedish law, but was caused solely by US and Israeli pressure. Talks dragged on for some time, but finally broke down. The 100 Libyan students left the Telub plant at Vaexjoe in January this year.

The hypocrisy of the Americans is well illustrated by the Telub affair. At stake was not the sale of arms to Libya, but only training which had some military relevance. The US moved to stop Libyans receiving military training from a neutral country. Yet one of the principal accusations made against Libya is that the arms and training which it receives from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries make the Jamahiriya a 'Soviet puppet'. At the NATO meeting in Brussels, General Haig repeated the allegation, saying that the Soviet supply of arms to Libya proved 'an objective link' between the two countries. Libya has never denied that it buys Soviet weapons and that its soldiers are trained to use them. The American attitude is that the Libyans are to be prevented, as far as possible, from buying military equipment from western or neutral countries, and then damned for turning to the Soviet Union for it. For the US, Libya has no right to self-defence.

The Americans have not had universal success in pushing their isolation of Libya. In Britain, the visit last year of Heavy Industry Secretary Omar Muntassir has been reciprocated; a senior Foreign Office civil servant went out to Tripoli in January this year (see following report). In Parliament in December, Lord Trefgarne, a Foreign Office Minister, made it clear that Britain would tolerate no attack on Libya's sovereignty. But the US-Israeli campaign looks set to continue, and further attempts to discredit Libya in this country are quite likely.



Libya's Heavy Industry Secretary Omar Muntassir (right) signs a \$41 million contract with Peter Dempsey, Joint Managing Director of Britain's Ingersoll Engineers. Details of the contract appear on page 18.

## British mission paves way for exporters

**FOLLOWING LAST autumn's trip to Britain by Libyan Heavy Industry Secretary Omar Muntassir, a British trade mission has paid a five-day visit to the Jamahiriya. Delegation leader Roy Williams told Alan George of the hopes for closer trade ties between the two countries.**

THE LATEST sign of the strengthening trade relations between Britain and the Libyan Jamahiriya came in early February, when an eight-man British trade mission visited Tripoli to assess the opportunities presented by Libya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan. The mission stemmed directly from last autumn's official visit to the United Kingdom by Omar Muntassir, the Jamahiriya's Heavy Industry Secretary. His was the first visit to Britain by a Libyan official since 1971.

During Mr Muntassir's visit, he stressed Libya's wish for greater involvement by British contractors in the Jamahiriya's development programme. Consulting firms are very active, but Mr Muntassir urged contractors to seize the opportunities for major orders.

Britain evidently heeded his call. The mission included representatives of John Laing & Co and Wimpey International,

two of the largest British construction firms. Another delegation member, John Harbord, represented a major electrical engineering contractor. During their visit, from 31st January to 4th February, the mission held talks with seven of the Jamahiriya's 22 Secretaries (the equivalent of Ministers in traditional administrations). All are centrally involved in Libya's development programme (see box).

Delegation leader Roy Williams, an Under Secretary at the Department of Trade with whom Mr Muntassir held talks during his trip to Britain, spoke warmly of the mission's five days in Libya. 'The mission was made most welcome by everyone we met, and we had an excellent programme of meetings with senior Secretaries and officials,' he said on his return. 'We have learned a great deal about the Libyan development plan, and the opportunities there are for development trade. The mission will now be considering urgently how best to follow up the visit, so as to make the most of these opportunities.'

In addition to assessing the prospects for increased trade, the British mission stressed to Libyan officials the perceived problems that had deterred companies from becoming involved in the Jamahiriya. Contractors have shied away, said Mr Williams, because they had been fully occupied in other parts of the world, and because they felt that Libya contracting regulations were excessively restrictive. Further, in the past, there had apparently been instances where

Libya had been slow in paying for work carried out by British firms. Another problem that companies saw as a hindrance was delays over the issue of visas.

These points were put frankly to Libyan officials in Tripoli, who listened sympathetically. The payment and visa delays had been the result more than anything else of bottle-necks in the Libyan civil service, they explained. During January's meeting of the General People's Congress, the Libyan legislature, there were firm calls for a streamlining of the civil service, with a view to ending just such problems (see *Jamahiriya Review*, February 1982).

There are already clear signs of a sustained and rapid expansion in British-Libyan trade. Mr Williams revealed that British exports to the Jamahiriya were last year in the order of £500 million — a 70 per cent increase over the 1980 figure of £288 million. And there is no evidence that the increase came at the expense of Libya's other trading partners. It was the direct result of Libya's expanding development expenditures. Despite the increase, Britain still supplies Libya with only about eight per cent of all its imports, underlining the scope for further expansion of trade.

Roy Williams disclosed that in the wake of the British trade mission, the Department of Trade-financed Committee for Middle East Trade (COMET) has started work on an analysis of Libya's 1981-85 development programme, and of the opportunities for British involvement. Their report will be circulated amongst British companies. The longer-term impact of the mission, however, should become apparent in the coming months, when it is hoped that British firms, and particularly contractors, will secure a growing number of contracts in the Jamahiriya.

#### Trade delegation members:

**Roy Williams**, Under Secretary, Department of Trade, Overseas Trade Division; **David Babb**, Principal, Department of Trade, Overseas Trade Division; **Keith Sedman**, Assistant Secretary, Export Credits Guarantee Department; **Roland Everington**, Director of Marketing, John Laing & Co; **John Lyons**, Marketing Manager, Wimpey International; **John Harbord**, Commercial Director, GEC Power Engineering Ltd; **John Judson**, Director, W S Atkins Group Consultants; **Ernest Turner**, Pauling Systems Ltd.

#### Libyan Secretaries who received the mission

**Omar Muntassir** — Heavy Industry; **Bashir Jawda** — Agrarian and Land Reform; **Muhammad al Manqush** — Housing; **Bukhari Salim Hudah** — Communications and Marine Transport; **Muhammad Mahmud Hijazi** — Municipalities; **Abu Zayd Umar Durdah** — Economy; **Qasim Sharlalah** — Treasury.



The threat to Africa: Sharon and Weinberger sign the US-Israeli agreement on strategic co-operation.

## Here comes America under the Israeli flag

IN THE north, Africa is faced with the massive US military build-up which is concealed under the mantle of Rapid Deployment Force, backed by Israel's military might. In the south, apartheid South Africa, a respectable state in Reagan's eyes, is increasingly accepted in the West as a 'bulwark against communism'. Throughout the continent, western covert political military action is intended to head off challenges to the interests of multinational firms and their local supporters.

Both the United States and Israel suffered set-backs in Africa in the early 1970s. The US saw its Portuguese allies lose control of their former colonies, and the revulsion at home over US foreign military involvement spilled over into Africa. In the wake of Vietnam, and the revelations about the activities of the CIA in Africa, Congress prohibited military aid to right-wing guerrilla groups opposing the progressive governments of Angola and Mozambique.

Israel, active in Africa in the 1960s, was checked in its operations after the 1973 war. The occupation of Sinai — Arab land that is also part of Africa — and the increasingly obvious alignment of Israel with South Africa became vital issues for African states. Diplomatic activity, in which Libya played a central role since the 1969 Al Fateh Revolution, persuaded many African countries to break links with the Zionists.

In recent years, both the United States and Israel have been trying to strengthen their influence once more. The strategic co-operation agreement between the two countries, signed in the autumn of 1981, has been welcomed by the Zion-

**LIBYA'S POLICIES in Africa are directed towards the achievement of self-sufficiency and real independence for African nations and peoples from the super-powers and the former colonial powers. Phil Kelly looks at the threat to the continent which shapes Libyan actions.**

ists because it will enable Israel to cement its ties to Washington by helping American links with Third World countries. Israeli military assistance and weapons sales can substitute for American in those areas where it is politically inconvenient for the US to intervene.

The Zionist daily *Al Hamishmar* set out the possibilities on 29th December last: 'Israeli officials claim that one of the advantages Israel will gain from the new strategic co-operation accord with the United States will be a greater role in the Third World. The leaders of pro-western regimes in the Third World, especially those of countries that have unpopular authoritarian regimes and a negative image in Washington, would like to make use of Israel's "American connection" according to the same sources. They seem to hope that Israel will be able to help them in Washington, to obtain direct US political military and economic aid, and perhaps also an increase in direct military assistance.'

Israel is trying to base its comeback in Africa on trading relations with states where no diplomatic ties exist. 'Governments and official bodies are not the only way to develop relations with other countries, Imelda Marcos, wife of Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos recently told Israeli journalists, asserting that many governments which vote against Israel at the UN do so in the knowledge that such votes placate the Arab states, but do little real harm to Israel.'

### Voting both ways

The cavalier attitude towards UN votes taken by some pro-western Third World countries is staggering. Trying at one and the same time to please their western patrons and to preserve their credibility with their own people and other Third World governments, they end up all but voting for both sides.

Zaire is one example. In January, after a prolonged debate and much back-door negotiation, Arab countries drafted a resolution calling for sanctions against Israel for its annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. In the UN Security Council, Zaire backed the resolution, which obtained a majority, but was prevented from passing by the usual US veto. The US was furious, as it had expected Zaire to abstain, which would have relieved the US from having to veto the resolution. 'The erratic Mobutu, who is seeking US financial aid, explained that Zaire's UN representatives had misunderstood their instructions,' said the American magazine *Newsweek* on 15th February. When the same resolution was adopted by the General Assembly a week after the Security Council debate, Zaire's delegation did abstain, but the sanctions call passed by 86 to 21, with 50 countries absent or abstaining.

Zaire was the principal target of a mission to Africa in November, led by Zionist Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. The other members of the Israeli team were Foreign Ministry Director and former Israeli secret agent in Africa, David Kimche, and an American, Arye Ganger, who Sharon recently invited to come to Israel to supervise arms sales.

Sharon and party also went to Gabon, the Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic, Nigeria and South Africa. During the visit, President Mobutu hinted that he would consider resuming diplomatic ties with Israel. This possibility was ended by the annexation of the Golan Heights, which made further contacts with Israel difficult even for a pro-western African regime.

The military implications for Africa for the strategic co-operation agreement between the US and Israel remain grave. The pact calls explicitly for co-operation in defence trade, and a secret clause provides for the stationing in Israel of military equipment which the US could use for intervention in the Middle East — or elsewhere in Africa.

The agreement also provides for 'the

possible use by third countries of FMS (American foreign military sales credits) to purchase Israeli defence items and services,' according to State Department spokesman Dean Fisher.

Though the Sharon trip round Africa failed to produce any new diplomatic ties, the Zionist military boss said at the end of December: 'All the projects for which I travelled to the African continent are progressing as arranged, or even quicker than that.' Hundreds of millions of dollars of Israeli 'products' (mainly weapons) are to pass to Africa's countries under these deals. The minor disagreement between Israel and the United States over the annexation of the Golan will not affect US-Zionist collaboration in Africa, Sharon said.

### Rebuilding links

Through the fifties and sixties, Zionist influence in Africa was built on the provision of agricultural and light industrial technology and expertise, a market which was largely ignored by other western countries. Israel also tried to increase its influence by training African trade unionists under the auspices of the Zionists' 'trade union', the Histadrut. Between 1958 and 1973, 43 per cent of the 17,000 trade unionists who took part in Histadrut training courses were from the Third World. Some African countries, notably Kenya, went on using Histadrut facilities after 1973.

Nowadays, the Histadrut enjoys the unique advantage of both training the labour and supplying the capital. As befits one of Israel's largest capitalist conglomerates, the 'trade union' is also one of Israel's foremost investors abroad. The Histadrut's construction company, Solel Boneh, has a large number of projects in Africa, and recently landed a \$230 million construction contract in Nigeria.

In the absence of diplomatic links, Israeli private business and state-owned firms provide cover for the activities of Mossad, Israel's secret service, to mount operations against anti-Zionists and nationalist forces in Africa. 'Organisations used for cover are Israeli purchasing missions, the Israeli Government Tourist Agency, El Al (the national airline), Zim (the national shipping line), Israeli construction firms, industrial groups, international trade organisations and a wide variety of unofficial Zionist organisations throughout the world,' the *Washington Post* said on 1st February, quoting CIA assessments leaked by Iranian militants who took over the US Embassy in Tehran.

In Africa, the leaked CIA report said, 'the Israelis still maintain good intelligence liaison with certain African services', despite the break in diplomatic relations. 'Their intelligence activities in Africa have usually been carried out under the cover of military and police training, arms sales to national military forces, and aid and development programmes,' the CIA report disclosed.

Countries named by the CIA as having good relations between their intelligence services and Israel's are Kenya, South Africa, and Zaire. The Israelis have also provided training in Liberia, and, under the pre-revolutionary government, in Ghana. The object of these contacts is to recruit and assist Zionists among local politicians, police and armed services, with a view to securing national policies favourable to Israel and antipathetic to progressive causes in general. Such objectives are wholly compatible with US schemes in Africa.

Links with the Kenyan police and army, for example, enabled the Israelis to have Nairobi airport sealed off to act as a forward base during the attack on Entebbe in 1977.

### Indian Ocean

Preparations around the Indian Ocean linked to the creation of bases for the US Rapid Deployment Force also illustrate the threat which US military expansion poses to Africa. In the fiscal year 1982, the US intends to spend \$24 million on updating the naval base at Berbera in Somalia, and \$26 million on Mombasa in Kenya. But the centre piece of US planning for military intervention in the Gulf and Africa is the island of Diego Garcia.

Diego Garcia is still nominally a British colony. It was separated from the colony of Mauritius in 1965, and in 1967, the then Labour Government under Harold Wilson signed an agreement with the US giving them a 50-year lease on the island. The Pentagon announced a year ago that \$287 million was to be spent in fiscal 1982 upgrading the facilities there. The British Government did not bother to inform Parliament about the matter until mid-July.

The strategic importance of the area was underlined in November, when a South African-sponsored coup attempt against the progressive government in the Seychelles (which lie between Diego Garcia and the African continent) was aborted by the Seychelles Army and People's Militia. More than 40 mercenaries, led by a Briton, 'Mad Mike' Hoare, were discovered as they tried to smuggle their guns in through customs at the airport of the Seychelles capital Mahé. South African official backing for the coup was made clear by the involvement of a serving officer in the South African Army, Lieut. Richard Stannard, and at least one member of South Africa's secret service, the National Intelligence Service, named as Martin Donaldson. The *Daily Telegraph*, not given to making such allegations under most circumstances, reported on 7th January: 'Evidence points to Western intelligence agencies, notably the Central Intelligence Agency, having had prior knowledge, and they may have provided support.'

Libya offered Seychelles President Albert Rene military aid in the wake of

the invasion, and similar fears of South African-backed expansionist actions were discussed when the President of the Comoros, Ahmed Abdullah Abdulrahman visited Tripoli in January. The Comoros archipelago is south of the Seychelles, between the northern part of Madagascar and the African continent.

### Israel and South Africa

Links between the Zionists and the apartheid state have been well documented for several years, and grow year by year. Israel has given crucial aid to South Africa in its occupation of Namibia and its attacks on neighbouring Angola. These attacks, said by the South Africans to be directed at guerrillas of the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO, are in fact aimed at disrupting the economic infrastructure of Angola.

On 23rd December last, the Portuguese daily *Diario de Lisboa* revealed that a US-backed force of Angolan terrorists had been assembled in Zaire. The so-called Military Committee for Angolan resistance had fifteen camps along Angola's border, and was equipped with aircraft, and assisted by US and Israeli advisors. The force would collaborate with South African-backed guerrillas of the UNITA terrorist organisation. The aim was to force the Angolan government to reach a compromise with UNITA and to take a more pro-western stance. Sure enough, the UNITA pitch for an agreement with the Angolan government appeared in the London *Observer* on 24th January.

UNITA's terrorists are highly regarded in Washington. Its leader, Jonas Savimbi, visited the US at the end of last year. 'A State Department spokesman, emphasising that Dr Savimbi's visit was a private one, said that the United States considered UNITA to be a legitimate political force in Angola which had to be taken into account.' *The Times* reported on 5th December last. The official US attitude contrasts sharply with its refusal to talk to the PLO, or to recognise the representative nature of the El Salvador guerrilla resistance movement.

The US has moved very close to South Africa. But even Reagan must realise that to break the UN arms embargo on the apartheid state would cost the Americans even more of the already threadbare reputation in Africa. Since the 1960s Israel and South Africa have co-operated closely on anti-insurgency techniques; hence techniques of the apartheid state are used against the Palestinians while Zionist experience is used to subjugate Africans in the apartheid state. Since the 1970s, Israel and South Africa have collaborated on nuclear technology, and the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons. On his recent visit, General Sharon offered South Africa arms and military aid from Israel — made possible because of US military subsidies to the Zionists. Israel thus offers a backdoor way in which the US can support apartheid without paying the political cost.



Development will fail without popular participation in planning.

## Economic development and revolutionary change

LIBYA'S NATIONAL income has grown rapidly since the discovery of oil in 1955, and despite very fast population growth, per capita income has also shot up. In 1979 it had already reached \$8,170. Some economists would argue that the Jamahiriya's high income means that it is a developed country. Such an evaluation, however, betrays a poor understanding of the problems facing Third World countries, writes Dr Alan George.

The distinguished Palestinian economist Yusif Sayigh long ago parted ways with the traditional approach of some of his colleagues when examining the question of economic development. Sayigh's view is that there is much more to economic development than a mere increase in a country's income. In his latest book, *The Arab Economy*, Professor Sayigh defines 'real' development as 'growth of a size and continuity which cannot materialise without important changes occurring previously or concurrently in the technological, social and political frameworks, in addition to the economic framework itself'.

Simple economic growth, as opposed to development, he defines as 'a mere increase in national income which can take place within the "circular flow" of the economy, given that is, its social and political institutions and its technological capabilities and demographic realities'. Professor Sayigh is a revolutionary: he is saying that a country can increase its income without any profound changes in its political and social order. But real development depends on fundamental changes, which in many instances must imply much more than cosmetic changes in the policies of existing regimes.

Sayigh does not advance any particular economic and political system as offering the brightest hopes for real economic development. Instead, he concentrates on a series of major issues that must be tackled for such development to take place at all. Many of these issues lie far beyond the areas of traditional concern to economists. Following from his defin-

**AN INCREASE in national income is often confused with economic development. In his latest book, Yusif Sayigh argues forcefully that real economic development entails fundamental political and social changes.**

ition of real development, many are overtly political and social. One such issue which Sayigh argues is hindering real economic development in the Arab region, is the low commitment of the people as a whole to development. Above all, he argues, this stems from 'the low participation allowed the population in the process of the determination of development objectives and priorities, in the creation of scope for dynamic initiatives, and in the enjoyment of an equitable share in the rewards of development'. The whole issue, says Sayigh, can be summed up in one sentence: 'Where there is no participation, there is no commitment.' The implications for authoritarian regimes are obvious.

Professor Sayigh's book is in two parts. The first is a descriptive account of the performance of the Arab economies over the past fifty years. In the second part, he discusses the nature of 'real' development and the tasks that the Arabs must undertake, and is much more stimulating. The book is essentially a heavily condensed repetition of his major twin-volumes published in 1979, *The Economies of the Arab World* and *The Determinants of Arab Economic Development*. Professor Sayigh's arguments, however, are too invigorating for them to stale with repetition.

In his new book, Sayigh does not examine in detail the development prospects for each Arab country. In his 1979 works, however, he cited the Libyan

Jamahiriya as being well on course for real development. In addition to its high oil revenues, the country has a comparatively wide range of natural resources, Professor Sayigh commented. Further, 'the commitment of the political leadership promises to remain high and sincere and the translation of this commitment into appropriate policies and measures promises to continue'. Of course there were difficulties, Professor Sayigh said, pointing for example to the scarcity of skills amongst Libyan workers. But he concluded: 'It is our estimate that the country is heading in the right direction.'

Professor Sayigh says that the main message of *The Arab Economy* is the urgent need for Arab economic integration. His conclusion, however, is that progress will be slow. 'Judging by the present situation after a third of a century of lukewarm efforts towards co-operation and complementarity, by the almost indifferent results achieved, and by the increasing power of separatist sentiment (irrespective of declarations to the contrary), it is fair to project very slow progress in the future.' He does not project more joint Arab development schemes, and greater flows of manpower and investment funds across Arab borders, but 'there will be very slow movement towards a pre-designed pattern of regional development, submitting to a unified conceptualisation, system of priorities, strategies and plans and programmes'.

Although the book ends on a gloomy note, Professor Sayigh says that this in itself poses a challenge to the Arabs for more determined efforts. The results of such efforts would be immense, he says. 'An Arab society which is developing in the profound and genuine sense of the term, which has a high level of performance, which is just in distributing its opportunities and rewards, which is free and able to provide scope for its citizens to participate in decision-making, which protests its national and regional security and strives to liberate all occupied Arab land and to put muscle into the national will, is a society which would be worth all the sacrifice called for in its service.'

□ *The Arab Economy: Past Performance and Future Prospects*, by Yusif Sayigh. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982. Price: £7.50.

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is committed to the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and by the year 2000 plans to have four major nuclear power stations in operation. A small research reactor has already been set up at Tajoura, near Tripoli, and a contract for the construction of the first power station is expected to be signed soon. Libya's determination to succeed in the nuclear energy field was underlined at the January 1981 meeting of the General People's Congress, the country's legislature, when it was resolved to establish a full Secretariat for Nuclear Energy.

The Jamahiriya looks to atomic power as the cheapest way of meeting its future electricity needs. At present, nuclear energy is about 20 per cent more expensive per megawatt than conventional energy. Technological advances, however, are expected to bring costs down sharply. Further, in forty years the oil reserves of many major producers will be nearing exhaustion. Oil prices are certain to rise in response to dwindling world supplies, giving nuclear energy an even sharper competitive edge. A single tonne of uranium used in a standard reactor produces the same power as 7,000 tonnes of oil. In a fast breeder reactor of the type Libya plans, one tonne of uranium is the equivalent of 60,000 of oil.

The Libyan Jamahiriya now consumes about 3,800 MW of electricity. This is expected to rise to 4,500 MW by 1985 and about 5,000 MW by 1990. Libya's electricity needs in 1995 are projected at about 6,000 MW, of which 1,200 MW — about 20 per cent — will be supplied by four nuclear power stations. A contract will shortly be signed with the Soviet Union's Atomenergosexport for the construction of the first, a 440 MW pressurised water reactor to be built on the coast of the Gulf of Sirte. French, West German and Yugoslav firms are reportedly bidding for the civil engineering works and instrumentation systems. The station should be operations by 1986. The three other nuclear power stations are under study, but all should be operational by the year 2000. The Jamahiriya's four nuclear plants will have two main purposes — to provide power for heavy industry, and heat for sea water desalination plants.

Libya is developing its nuclear energy programme in concert with other Arab countries. Iraq, Syria and the Jamahiriya have each put forward draft proposals for the establishment of a pan-Arab nuclear energy agency, and these have been studied by a committee of Arab scientists. The committee's report sets out options for an integrated Arab nuclear energy strategy, and proposes a pan-Arab nuclear energy agency to co-ordinate policies in all the Arab countries. The agency, with a proposed \$6 billion capital, would have an executive committee of scientists, and a conference representing all the Arab countries. The new body would co-operate closely with the



Nuclear energy vital to the development of the Jamahiriya's power supplies which operate the country's expanding industrial sector.

## Libya's peaceful nuclear plans

**BY 1995 nuclear power stations will produce 20 per cent of the Jamahiriya's electricity. In this special report, Robin Miller examines Libya's plans for the peaceful use of atomic power.**

existing International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), based in Vienna, which monitors nuclear energy developments throughout the world, and of which all the Arab countries are members.

The Libyan Jamahiriya is frequently accused by the western media of harbouring plans to acquire nuclear weapons, despite the equally frequent and consistent denials of any such intention by Muammar Qadhafi and other Libyan officials. The Jamahiriya's commitment to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only was reaffirmed as recently as February by the country's Atomic Energy Secretary Abdel Majid Gaoud, in an interview with the London weekly *The Middle East*. He pointed out that if Libya had wanted nuclear weapons, it would

have been much cheaper, and technically simpler, to opt for a specifically military nuclear programme. No Arab country, he said had taken such a course. Israel, said Mr Gaoud, was the only country in the world that had explicitly embarked on a nuclear weapons programme unrelated to any civilian applications. 'That is why you do not find any nuclear power station in Israel,' he explained.

Libyans believe that the international media campaign to discredit the country's nuclear plans is motivated in part by the industrialised states' desire to maintain their monopoly of sophisticated technology. Addressing students in Tripoli on 10th February, Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi insisted that nuclear technology should be freely available to all countries. 'Knowledge is the natural right of man,' he declared. 'It should not be limited to one group and denied to another, as happens in this atomic age, when certain countries are allowed nuclear know-how while it is denied to others.'

Plutonium, a key component of nuclear warheads, is produced more rapidly in fast breeder reactors than in other types, but Atomic Energy Secretary Abdel Majid Gaoud told *The Middle East* that the Jamahiriya had chosen fast breeder reactors simply because they offered the most efficient way to use nuclear fuel. In any event, he said, Libya, like all the Arab countries, had signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and all were members of the IAEA, whose inspectors regularly monitor installations to ensure that plutonium is not being diverted for military use. Israel has refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty, and has never allowed IAEA personnel to inspect its secret nuclear establishment at Dimona, in the Negev desert.

## Accord between Tripoli and Rome

LIBYA AND Italy are to expand their trading relations in the wake of a visit to Rome by the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Foreign Liaison, Abdel Ati Obeidi, and the Heavy Industry Secretary, Omar Muntasser. At a press conference in the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome on 22nd January, Mr Obeidi said that Italy was an important market for Libyan oil, and that Libya was an important market for Italian trade.

Mr Obeidi stressed the opportunities in Libya which awaited Italian firms, and pointed out that trade flows in each direction amounted to \$6,000 million annually. Trade with Libya meant that jobs were created for Italians at home and in the Jamahiriya, which greatly benefitted the Italian economy at a time of record unemployment.

Co-operation between countries had political implications despite the different political systems in the two countries, the Libyan official continued. Libya and Italy were agreed that the Palestinian people had a right to participate in any discussions which affected their future, and agreed on the need for co-operation between Mediterranean littoral states to create an atmosphere of neighbourliness, dialogue and understanding. This would prevent the region being divided into two rival blocs in the service of the super-powers, he declared.

Mr Obeidi revealed that Italian officials had accepted that all claims made about Libyan involvement in terrorism in Italy were mere allegations. He stressed Muammer Qadhafi's forthright condemnations of terrorist groups, and confirmed Libya's readiness to co-operate with any country to combat the phenomenon.

The Italian side was led by Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo. Among the agreements reached was one to improve consular and social insurance arrangements for Italians working in Libya.

## Training programme for steel workers

INGERSOLL ENGINEERS of Rugby has announced the award of a \$41 million contract related to the Libyan Jamahiriya's first integrated iron and steel works, under construction at Misrata. On 8th February the company disclosed that it will run a five-year training programme for Libyan steel workers. The contract



Italy's Emilio Colombo

provides for 350 Libyans to be trained each year, and one hundred are already awaiting the start of the Ingersoll programme.

In January it was announced that West Germany's Bauer Schrobhausen has a \$10.9 million sub-contract to install 17,500 600-millimetre piles at the steelworks. The order was placed by South Korea's Daewoo Corporation, the civil works contractor in a consortium building a cold rolling mill. The consortium is led by Austria's Voest-Alpine.

The Misrata steelworks is the largest single project in Libya's 1981-85 development plan. The \$3.3 billion first stage, for completion by 1985, provides for an output of 1.2 million tonnes of steel.

## Latest hypermarket opens in Tripoli

LIBYAN REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi on 14th January opened the latest in the Jamahiriya's growing chain of people's markets, in Tripoli's Souk al Jumaa quarter.

As part of the Al Fatah Revolution's drive to abolish exploitation, privately-owned shops are being phased-out in Libya, and are being replaced by the people's markets. These ultra-modern supermarkets sell a full range of goods virtually at cost price.

The country-wide chain of people's markets is managed by the National Company for Markets, and on 15th January the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA reported that six major supermarkets have so far been set up in Tripoli and Benghazi,

and 1,728 smaller markets and warehouse complexes throughout the Jamahiriya. 874 of the super-markets are self-service stores. Two more hypermarkets are under construction in Tripoli and Benghazi, and a further 1,303 smaller self-service stores are being built throughout Libya, JANA said.

## \$50 million construction contracts awarded

THE TURKISH company Otas has won two contracts totalling \$48 million for buildings at Tarhuna, about 80 kilometres south east of Tripoli. The larger, valued at \$44 million, is for 500 houses, while the other contract, worth \$4 million, is for a military building. Both projects are for completion in two years. Otas, which started overseas work only at the beginning of 1980, already has a \$25 million contract for the construction of 118 farmhouses and 50 houses for medical staff at Tarhuna.

Turkish construction firms are very active in the Jamahiriya. There are more than 100, employing over 80,000 workers. At the end of last year, the value of Libyan contracts on which Turkish firms had started, or were about to start, was estimated at \$6 billion.

## Fleet expands to 25 ships

ON 12TH January Libya's National Shipping Company took delivery of the 9,400 tonnes freighter *Ibn Hawkal*. The vessel, built in East Germany, brings the Jamahiriya's merchant fleet to 25 ships. The *Ibn Hawkal* is the second of three ships ordered from East Germany. The *Sirte* was delivered on 25th October last, and the final vessel, of 27,000 tonnes, is due for delivery early this month. The completion of the contract for the three ships will mark an important step in the attainment of Libya's 1981-85 development plan's target of a merchant fleet totalling 36 ships.

The expansion of the fleet has been accompanied by a major programme of port development. Tenders will be invited soon for a \$405.3 million contract to build a new port for Sirte, about 400 kilometres east of Tripoli. A major petrochemicals complex is to be built in Sirte, two of the port's eight berths will serve a planned \$1,000 million fertiliser plant. The contract is for dredging and land reclamation, and the construction of breakwaters, jetties and quays. A fishing harbour and

ship repair facilities will also be built. Consultant for the project is Britain's Posford Pavy & Partners.

By 1985 about 60 per cent of the Jamahiriya's imports will be carried in Libyan-owned ships, but the country's rapidly growing trade means that many new seal links have been inaugurated. On 1st February Britain's Maritime Transport Overseas started the latest service between Libya and Europe — a new line from the east coast port of Immingham to Tripoli and Misrata. Agent for the service is Johnson Stevens Agencies.

## ABC for London and New York

THE ARAB Banking Corporation (ABC), a joint venture between the Libyan Jamahiriya, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, will set up branches in London and New York 'very soon', the English language *Gulf News* reported on 13th January. The paper added that the corporation is also planning other branches in major Gulf capitals.

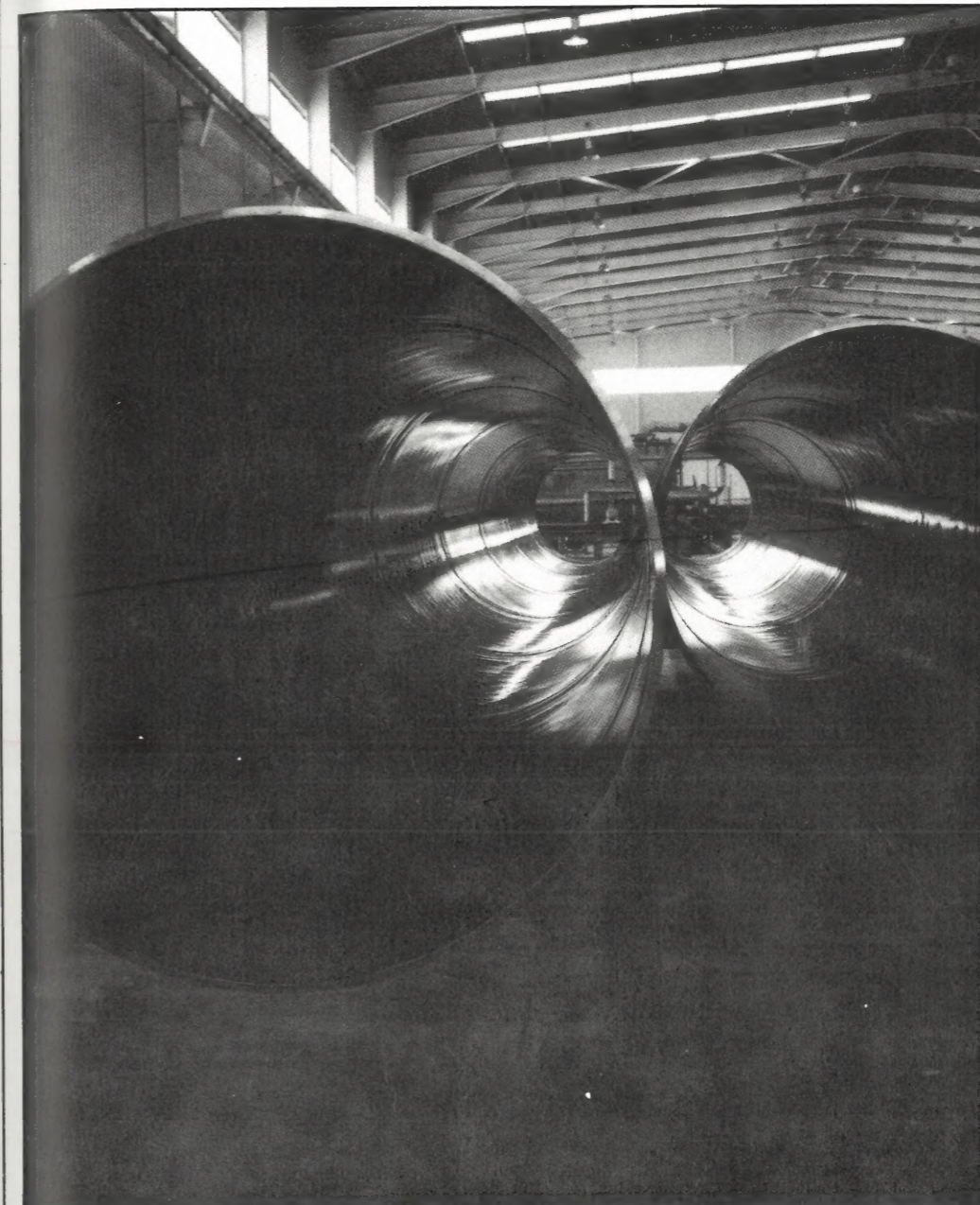
The ABC was set up in June 1980 with an authorised capital of \$1 billion, and a paid up capital of \$750 million. In 1981, its first full year of operation, the ABC ranked amongst the ten largest lead managers of international loans, measured in terms of the size of the funds involved. The lead manager is the bank which co-ordinates a loan advanced by a consortium of banks.

An ABC spokesman said that the corporation was involved in 'the harnessing of the formidable Arab funds, supplying financial services, handling the vast Arab deposits, and recycling funds for vital Arab development projects'. The paper added that the ABC was currently involved in nearly one hundred major transactions.

The ABC's board of directors comprises the Kuwaiti Finance Minister, the Chairman of the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority and the Libyan Treasury Secretary.

## Success for Finnish firms

FOLLOWING A visit to Tripoli last October by a Finnish trade mission headed by Finance Minister Mauno Forsman, Finnish firms have been awarded a number of major contracts. The cartographic consultant firm Finnmap has won a 60 per cent share, worth \$5.5 million, in an oil exploration contract, bringing the total value of their work in the Jamahiriya to well over \$20 million. The other participants in the explor-



Industrial development: Pipes produced at a plant in the Libyan Jamahiriya illustrate the growth of new industries during recent development plans implemented by the country's revolutionary authorities. The 1982 development budget gives top allocations to industry with a planned investment this year of \$13.3 billion (2.9 Libyan dinars).

ation project are Britain's Hunting Surveys and Sheltech of Canada.

Finnmark recently won a \$2 million contract to survey and map a 70,000 square kilometre area in the south of the Jamahiriya. Another Finnish firm, Jetflite, will supply the planes for the aerial survey.

In January it was disclosed that the Finnish firm Yleinin Insinööri (YIT) has won a major extension to an existing contract for work on the Es Sidr oil terminal in the Gulf of Sirte. YIT's original contract, for completion in February, has been raised to \$15 million from \$5 million, and the company is bidding for further work. Client is the Oasis Oil Company.

## Libyan order will ease US unemployment

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is very close to placing a \$25 million order for heavy construction equipment with Fiat Allis Construction Machinery Inc, a joint venture between Italy's Fiat and the US firm Allis Chalmers. About half the order would be assembled at the firm's Springfield, Illinois, plant, and the firm would recall 400 workers it has laid off because of slack demand stemming from the US economic depression. The rest of the work

would be carried out at plants in Italy, and Brazil.

On 22nd January the *International Herald Tribune* quoted John Panettiere, the Fiat-Allis President, as saying that production on the Libyan order would start within two months, and the estimated 225 units of heavy equipment would be ready for delivery in summer.

## British bungalows now in transit

UNDER A contract signed last year, Britain's Wigfield & Pluck (W & P) has begun supplying 200 prefabricated bungalows, each valued at \$27,000. A company spokesman was quoted by *Middle East Economic Digest* on 29th January as saying: 'About 60 containers are now in transit to Libya'. Northern Ireland-based

construction firm McNeill Group is carrying out civil works at the bungalows' sites. W & P and McNeill are jointly seeking further housing contracts in the Jamahiriya.

## LNOC takes over oil firms

TWO US oil companies, Esso Standard and Esso Sirte, have relinquished all their property and rights in the Jamahiriya to the Libyan National Oil Corporation (LNOC) under an agreement signed on 17th December, and deemed effective as of 1st December.

Under the agreement, LNOC, which held a 51 per cent share in the oil concessions granted to the two US firms, became the sole owner of the concessions, except for the 12 per cent still held by the Grace Oil Company. LNOC has handed over all the operations of the two Esso Companies to its wholly-owned subsidiary, the Sirte Oil Company.

## New chemicals complex at Maradah

WORK HAS started on a major new chemicals complex at Maradah, about 250 kilometres south east of the coastal petrochemicals centre of Ras Lanouf, it was disclosed in January. The complex will use minerals from nearby salt flats, and much of the output will be used by the Ras Lanouf plants.

The first contract for the new project has been won by the British firm Merlew, and is valued at \$4.6 million. The firm will set up a meteorological station and an experimental production unit, which will include a seven-kilometre pipeline. By the end of January, prefabricated offices and housing for about 40 workers had been shipped to the site by Britain's Lesser Building Systems, under a \$384,000 sub contract from Merlew.

Work on the Maradah complex was originally scheduled to have started during the 1976-80 development plan. In 1978 the project's total cost was estimated at \$700 million and construction was expected to take at least five years. It was envisaged that the plant would employ about 1,000 people, and produce an annual 30,000 tonnes of magnesium, 100,000 tonnes of vinyl chloride monomer, 30-35,000 tonnes of sodium chloride, 20-25,000 tonnes of potassium chloride and 10,000 tonnes of gypsum.

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# jamahiriya review

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